butter, and melting the butter they make clarified butter. The butter-milk they eat themselves; they also give a share of it to poor people. 234 [735]

Fairly small boys make carts of earth and amuse themselves pulling these round about; they also make small carts of wood for them. They make bows and arrows for them, and they play shooting lizards, grasshoppers and so on with these. When they have become a little more grown up, they play ṭir and kạti[9]. 524 857

The work of small girls is to carry children on the hip, to pluck vegetables and to help their mother with something or other. When they become fairly big, they fetch water and leaves and do different kinds of work. When they are small girls, they play, pretending to prepare rice and curry from dust; when they have become a little more grown up, they dance the road-dance and they sing a good deal.

Until they grow up, boys and girls play together the following: hodel guḍu, bhela ṭaṕ ṭuṕ, sui gutu, bhiṛkại bhiṛkại, kaṇṭhaṛ dare, cạliạ, simić simić, kul kul, kaera saṛae sapae, tayo tayo, pusi pusi, duṛuṕ teṅgon, jhampa, bọf bọf, sikṛīć sikṛīć, sutạm ọrọ̄k, họn gujur, kitkitạ, ạitạu pạ̄iṭạu, and others[10].

g. The sorrows and pleasures of married people.

Some married people live in great peace. The husband lightens the burdens of his wife, and the wife also does the same for her husband. In the evening husband and wife consult together about their work and business. When there is any need, the husband says to his wife: For the present prepare gruel for us feeling your way; at present it is a time of scarcity. And also the wife says to her husband: Exert yourself to procure foodstuffs for us, it is coming to an end; or, the clothes of the children are being torn, how will you provide them with clothes? or, Our son has grown up, will you not look about to get us a daughter-in-law somewhere? He might perhaps commit some offence somewhere and make it difficult for us; or, The children don't listen to me, when I give them an order, how much must I speak? Scold them, so that they become afraid; or, The children are ill, let some one feel their pulse. Such good married people at once listen to each other's words. They work and get their food with one mind. 593

But some women are very bad-tempered; they irritate their husband all day long; they nag awfully, they speak angrily, and easily become sulky. The husband has never any peace. He may talk with somebody or other about something; then his wife will at once impute something bad to him. If the husband is a little late coming from somewhere, the woman will get sulky, and if he asks for water or anything, she will at once speak 578 593

[9] Ṭir is a small piece of wood, some 15 cm long, thrown by one part and met with a stick in the air by the opposite part. Kạti is a small flat piece of potsherd or of wood used in a pitch and toss game.
[10] The Santals have an astonishingly large number of games, many more than those here mentioned; to describe these would require a separate paper.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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The Economic Background of Santal life

"Where shall I get the rice to brew beer?" pleaded a Santal accused in an excise case answering a charge of distilling spirits. It was pointed out that no excise rules prevented him from fermenting "hàṇḍia," the home-made beer. "Where shall I get the rice?" the puzzling defence was hurled at the magistrate, sitting at the courts of Dumka, S. P.

Some time after, news trickled from Jamtara areas that some infuriated Santals ran after those who went to help them during a conflagration in their villages with bows and arrows, seeking to shoot them down. "We have nothing to eat, let fire take our houses too," was what they exclaimed, not that they could not understand the humanitarian services of the village fire-brigade.

Those were years of some scarcity no doubt, but the pictures afford us a glimpse of Santal economic life. They seem to have no power of resistance against a rainy day and think more of drinks to drown their sorrow, even if they have to infringe excise laws. In the Santal economic background poverty seems to loom large. No wonder that one of their folk-songs during the December Harvest Home has these telling lines:—

Dè ho duṛup'pè,[1]
Dè ho tèṅgòṅpè,

1 The full song has been incorporated in the chapter on Folk-poetry.

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Jòmak' ñunyak' bòeha bànuk' taleya,
Mènt' ñèpèl bòeha ahajibà.
Akal kèdac gateñ săwanek'edae
Ità ràni gateñ, bale ñawana,
Sanam hòpòniñko ḍiṅgàr cabayen.

(Translation)

Welcome, welcome! O friends dear!
(We have) neither food nor drink to offer.
But we offer you our greetings,
(It matters little whether) the harvest
failed or it was in plenty;
For want of seeds (and consequent want
of food)
All my sons have nothing of their own.

342 Out to trace variations in Mayurbhanj from the
184 Santals in the Santal Parganas, we were somewhat
735 pleased to see that their houses were better built
and more commodious, but the inner economic
structure told the self-same tale as in the folk-song.
735 We selected some villages at random and questioned
[114] the Santals (without claiming for ourselves the func-
[123] tions of the economic surveyor) on the point. But
they replied, "We are very poor. Our average
735 agricultural income is from Rs. 5 to 6 per month.
434 Those more industrious supplement it by working as
[464] day labourers which may bring them Rs. 3 more.
[426] But about half of the population are indebted to

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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mahajans and many of us run to the tea-gardens to earn a living.'"[1]

Statistics sheds further light on the condition of the cattle, the mainstay of an agricultural population. "A large section of the aborigines consisting of the Santals, and the Bhumijs, and forming about 50 per cent of the population, do not care for milk as an item of nutrition. This perhaps contributes to a certain extent to their indifference to the improvement of cattle. Even as beasts of burden or as instruments of husbandry, the cattle in the state are very poor in quality."[2] So depending on such ricketty props, they can only turn out paddy and thereafter "biri" (*mug* pulse), in pathetic ignorance of supplementary means of livelihood like cottage-industries.

Little wonder that with such limited means of livelihood and scanty fare as we have already noticed they offer little resistance to intoxication. Their wants and worries weigh upon them so much that they take to drunken forgetfulness to drown their

1 Ref. *Census Report of Mayurbhanj*, 1931, p. 10, which reads "During the last decade 1,497 coolies belonging to this State were recruited for work in the tea-gardens by the garden-sirdars."

2 There are in all 600,000 heads of cattle in the State (Total population 8089,603) page 71 *Census Report* of Mayurbhanj, 1931.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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735 293 154 sorrows. It is a pathetic sight to see young Santals keep sober till they marry, and then grow old suddenly as cares and anxieties of life come to them, when they plunge headlong in a sodden life.

181 The rigours of their life on the earth are somewhat overcome by the objects of material culture we have noted in the foregoing pages. But one can easily see that they are crude devices of a primitive world, not serving their purpose well in the [171] twentieth century. But, one must however notice that the level of culture presented by the Santal is on a par with that of the rest of the hill tribes of what may be called the Central Belt of India, which is a homogeneous culture-area in all important respects.

Conclusion

174 181 224 241 433 As we conclude the review of Santal economic life, we find that the actual stage reached by the tribe in its material culture is still primitive. Their traditions make it clear that there was a time in the life of the Santals when they lived a semi-hunting nomadic life, perpetually moving in quest of food. But the picture we have got in the foregoing pages reveals a people who have finally accepted the life of settled agriculturists.

177 As, however, we look closely to the objects of Santal material culture, we notice similarities with

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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After that the boy has to pay sufficient money as fines to provide a feast for the whole village[1].

Tunki Dipil Bapla: This type of marriage is performed by poor men. As they have not sufficient money to bear the expenses of the regular marriage (Raibar Bapla) they resort to this type, in which the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom with a small basket on her head, a few friends and relatives accompany her to her house. The bridegroom in the presence of these persons applies vermilion mark on her head and a feast is then arranged and the couple then live as husband and wife.

Itut Bapla: This is adopted by forward young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry. The man taking some vermilion on his fingers watches his opportunity at the fair or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Doing this he runs away at full speed to escape from the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's relatives will go to his village and will obtain from the headmen the permission to kill and eat three of the goats of the offender or of his father and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage is however legal and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster.

[1]Uma Chowdhury—Marriage Customs of the Santals—Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology Vol. I No. 1 January, 1952 pp. 104-105.